AN APOLOGY FOR Mr. R. Stafford, WITH AN ADMONITION

To him and ſuch other honeſt miſtaken People.

Wherein the Nature of the *Engliſh* Monarchy is plainly explained, the Juſtice of the preſent Settlement aſſerted; and other matters of great moment for the Eſtabliſhment thereof briefly noted.

By the Author of the Reflections.

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AN APOLOGY FOR Mr. R. Stafford, WITH AN ADMONITION To him and ſuch other honeſt miſtaken People.

WAS the Opinion of Mr. *Stafford concerning the Obligation of the Oath of Allegiance to K. James*, as extraordinary and rare to be met with, as was the Zeal which he the other day ſhewed at *Weſtminſter* for what he thought to be true, it could not deſerve to be taken notice of in Print; but becauſe there is reaſon to believe that there may be many other well-meaning men of his opinion, who have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge, and may by miſtake do that miſchief, which they would otherwiſe abhor, and therefore deſerve pity and better information; I ſhall accommodate the Admonition which I intended

for him in private, to the uſe of others in Print. There is rarely any Error which hath not ſome mixture of Truth to ſupport it; and it is certain that many of the moſt ſubtile *Temptations* of the Devil, and of the moſt pernicious *Errors* of Men, are grounded either upon obſcure paſſages of Scripture miſunderſtood, or plain Truths miſapplied. And ſuch is the caſe of this honeſt and well-meaning Gentleman. For theſe are certain and manifeſt Truths, That Diſobedience to Governours, and Violation of Oaths, are great ſins; That a Prince being of a falſe or ſuperſtitious Religion, cannot juſtifie either in the People: And that it is very common both with particular Perſons, and States alſo, to ſeek out Shifts and Evaſions to cover the breach of Gods expreſs Commands, and the very *Peters* and great men of the Church often turn Politicians, and are carried away with their Diſſimulation. And as to his *Application*, That King *James* II. had an undoubted Title to the Crown; that he was legally Proclaimed and Crowned King; and that the uſual Oath of Allegiance was taken to him by moſt of the Nobility, the Biſhops, Magiſtrates, Officers, and a great part of the Nation; and that a Declaration *That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King*, hath been required as a Teſt by Act of Parliament, and ſubſcribed by the conforming Clergy, and a great part of this Nation. Laſtly, that notwithſtanding all this diverſe of the Nobility, and others of this Nation had invited the P. of *Orange* to come in with an Army; had themſelves with Arms aſſociated with him, and in the place of King *James* who departed for fear, had made him King, ſworn Allegiance to him, and given him Money to oppoſe K. *James*, and drive him out of *Ireland* alſo. And all this being plain and manifeſt truth, it muſt needs, to an honeſt well-meaning man, who is not acquainted with the different forms of Government, nor with the true Conſtitution of ours, ſeem

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as foul a fault as this honeſt well-meaning Gentleman hath taken it to be. And this I can farther ſay for him, that I am well ſatisfied, and have great reaſon to believe, that what he did was neither maliciouſly done upon an ill deſign, nor through the inſtigation of any ill Perſons, but meerly upon a ſtrong perſwaſion of the truth of his Opinion; which had it been really as true as he took it to be, what he did had been ſo far from deſerving any blame, that it had been an Heroick Act of Vertue and Fidelity to the Supream Lord of all. And therefore in what he did, if there be no Evidence of Malice or ill Deſign in his Will, but meer Error in his Underſtanding, and that grounded upon no leſs Authority than Acts of Parliament, I do not ſee how any Crime can be juſtly charged upon him, or any one elſe, who ſhould do no more than he did with the like Innocent and good intention, till ſuch time as the Falſity and Untruth of thoſe Declarations, of which ſome things are noted in the Important Queſtions, be expreſly and plainly declared by equal Authority; that is, by Act of Parliament. In the mean time, all ſuch miſcarriages are juſtly to be imputed to the Iniquity of that Parliament, which by their Acts required ſuch Declarations, and to the Negligence and Irreſolution of this, which hath not all this while more expreſly declared and aſſerted the Truth; and this I conceive may be juſtly and truly ſaid by way of *Apology* for him

But then for *Admonition* and better *Information* to him and other well-meaning men, who may be otherwiſe men of ſufficient natural parts, but not ſufficiently acquainted with the difference of the Conſtitutions of ſeveral Governments, and particularly with that of ours, I ſhall plainly ſet down my Sentiments of the whole matter, which if they be capable to examine the Originals from which it is to be determined, and will take the pains to do it thoroughly, they will find to be true. But in the mean time they ought to ſuſpend their Judgment, and not do, or aſſert any thing raſhly.

 1. That

1. That the true *Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government*, hath in the four laſt Reigns been ſtudiouſly *miſrepreſented* by three ſorts of people, for their own Intereſt, who have thereby miſled other well-meaning People. Theſe were 1. the Papiſts, who found it more eaſie to delude and impoſe upon a ſingle Perſon than a whole Parliament, and to that end did really endeavour to promote an Arbitrary Government: 2. Ambitious Courtiers, and 3. Worldly-minded Clergy-men and others, who by flattering the humour of Princes, ſought Preferments and their own Advantage, without regard either to the Peace or Welfare of their Country, or the true Honour and Safety of their Prince.

2. That *the People* of this Nation were from all Antiquity, and before they ſeated themſelves here, *a free People*, their Kings as they call'd them, rather bore ſway among them by an Authority of Reputation and Conſent of the People, than ruled by any direct and proper Authority of their own; and that only in leſſer and ordinary matters; but matters of greater moment were ordered by a Common and Great Council of the Nation.

3. That *their Kings*, after they came to Reign by a more proper Regal Authority, were yet *Elective*, and had no Hereditary Right. Nor was the Election limited to any one Family till the time of *Egbert*. And though afterward they were of the ſame Family, yet did they not ſucceed *Jure Hereditario*, by Proximity of Blood, but were choſen and ſucceeded by conſent of the People. Nor was the Oath of Fidelity other than Perſonal, to the Perſon of the King, without any mention of *Heirs* till *Edw.* 4. and then with ſome reſtrictive Addition, as, *Kings of England*, which afterward was altered, in Words rather than Subſtance, into Heirs and *Succeſſors*. So that the addition in both is a plain limitation to ſuch Heirs only as ſhould be actually inveſted with the Regal Authority, by conſent of the People,

People. Herewith agreeth that ancient Formality of ſolemnly asking the conſent of the People, which is ſtill retained at the Coronation; and ſo ought to be, if it were but to remind them of the mutual Contract, and Truſt repoſed in them, of which more preſently.

4. That the Kings of *England* have anciently had divers *Prerogatives*, but much different from what have been of late pretended; that under pretence of Prerogative they have made many Encroachments upon the Rights of the People, which yet they have been forced to reſtore again; and that the ancient Charters called *Magna Charta*, were not original Conceſſions of any new Rights or Liberties to the People, but their Ancient Rights which they juſtly claim'd and would not part with; and ſuch was that of later time, called the *Petition of Right*.

5. That the *Kings* of *England*, after all, have not any full and abſolute *Right* of Dominion to the Crown of *England*, or ſo much as to the Crown Lands or Jewels, ſo as to diſpoſe of them at their pleaſure, but only in the nature of a *Truſt* to maintain the State and Dignity of the King, and for the Majeſty of the Kingdom, and Honour of the Nation. And ſuch is their Right of Government, wherein they are limited by the Conſtitution of this State, in Legiſlation to the conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; and in dminiſtration in ordinary matters of State, to the Advice of the Privy Council; and in ordinary matters of Juſtice to the Judgment of the Judges, of the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice and Equity; and in all great and extraordinary matters, whether of State or Juſtice, to the Advice and Reſolution of the Great Council of the Nation, the Parliament, which hath a juſt Right, and always hath uſed to inſpect the Adminiſtration, and the Actions of the King, as well as of his Miniſters. And therefore

6. That *the Regal Authority* of the Kings of *England*, being plainly of the nature of *a Publick Truſt* for the Com-

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mon Good, it is, and in all reaſon ought to be, ſubject to the ſame Equity that other Truſts are ſubject to; that is, that ſuch Truſtees as will not honeſtly and faithfully perform the Truſt repoſed in them, ſhould be diſcharged from it, and the Truſt be committed to ſuch as are like to perform it faithfully. For though *ſuch Truſtees* be *more honourable than private Truſtees*, and ought therefore to be treated with ſo much the greater reſpect; yet it is to be conſidered on the other ſide, that ſo is alſo the Truſt, which is repoſed in them, and makes them ſo honourable, as much greater than private Truſts, and ought therefore ſo much the more to be provided for and ſecured. And the greater the Truſt, the greater the fault of any breach of it. And generally in all Truſts a greater regard is to be had to the Perſons for whom, than to thoſe in whom, the Truſt is repoſed.

7. And though ſuch Truſtees have *a peculiar Intereſt* of their own *in the Truſt*, as part of the Community for which the Truſt is ſetled; yet cannot that juſtify or excuſe their Breach of the Truſt repoſed in them for others; nor their invading the Rights of others. All that can be inferred from thence, is, that though they may be juſtly excluded from the Publick Management, yet not from their Private Intereſt. But then again, it is to be conſidered, that the Matters for which a Prince may be juſtly excluded, are for the moſt part ſuch as render him an Enemy, or have more damnified the Publick than his Private amounts to; and in ſuch caſe he may juſtly be deprived of all. But otherwiſe, when he may be ſuffered to enjoy his Private Eſtate without danger to the Publick, he ought to enjoy it. But ſuch caſes are rare.

8. But there is a more obvious and common Scruple, which is taken from the *Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance*, and occaſions the greateſt doubts and trouble to many honeſt and worthy men. But it is to be conſidered that a Promiſſary Oath doth only oblige to Performance under

der a greater Penalty, that is, the Judgment of Almighty God ſolemnly provoked or appealed to; but doth not enlarge or abridge the extent of the Obligation, which in this caſe is to Fidelity and Allegiance. And the meaſure of theſe is to be taken from the Conſtitution. It is an Obligation to Faithful Obedience and Aſſiſtance according to the Law. And ſo far as this is every man obliged, though he take not the Oath, which as I ſaid doth only add a ſolemn provocation to the Divine Judgment, to enforce the performance, but it doth not oblige the Subject to obey further than the King hath right to command; nor doth it oblige him to neglect his Legal Defence, or Proſecution of his Right againſt the King himſelf: both which are matters of common practice, and known to all Lawyers. And this is apparent even in inferior particulars of our Inſtitutions, to the ſatisfaction of all who will but fairly conſider *the Oath of Fealty*, which every Freeholder is obliged to take *to the Lord* of whom he holds. For it differs very little from this to the King, and yet no man had ever any ſuch apprehenſions of the Obligation of that, as the Ignorance of ſome, and Knavery of others, have poſſeſſed mens minds with concerning this.

9. But this is not all, what is lawful for every man to do in other caſes, *viz.* to neglect his own right, is not ſo in this; for all men owe Allegiance and *Fidelity to*, and are obliged to maintain and defend, *the intire State* according to the true Conſtitution, and all the parts thereof: Which is the *true and genuine Loyalty*. And therefore if the King ſhall invade the Rights of the whole in any particular Perſon, as in the late Reigns hath often been done, that Perſon is called by the Divine Providence in ſuch caſe, to defend the Rights of his Country, in the defence of his own, as far as he is able; for otherwiſe, by deſerting his own in ſuch caſe, he deſerts that Duty, which he owes to his Country, though he be not

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ſpecially obliged with the Solemnity of an Oath to it; as anciently they were, who took the *Oaths of Allegiance*, or of any *of the great Officers*, which obliged to the faithful Service of the Kingdom as well as of the Kings Perſon. And of thoſe *Treaſons* which by *Sta.* 25 *Ed.* 3. are reſerved to the Cognizance of the Parliament; there can be no doubt but the principal are thoſe which tend to the ſubverſion of the Government, or to make breach between the King and the People; which were thought too great to be left to the Cognizance of the ordinary Judges.

10. There is another bugbear and ſcare-crow word which hath been much uſed to impoſe upon honeſt conſcientious men, that is the terrible name of *Rebellion*. That there is really ſuch a thing as Rebellion, and that it is a great and wicked ſin, no man of honeſty or ſenſe will deny; but it is not the Arms but the Cauſe that makes the Rebellion. An aſſembly but of a ſmall number to do an unlawful act is a Riot; but otherwiſe, though of never ſo many, is juſtifiable. So the taking Arms againſt the King in the uſe of his Right, and Exerciſe of his Legal Authority, is that Great and Wicked Sin of Rebellion. But if the King in ſuch a Conſtitution as this, by manifeſt and notorious Acts ſhall invade the Rights of the People, who have two parts for his one in the Conſtitution, and endeavour to ſubvert the Government, or ſubject it in whole or in part to a Foreigner, and an Enemy, he doth groſsly break his Truſt, and his Oath too, if he hath taken the uſual Coronation Oath; and it is no Rebellion, but a Juſt and Honourable War for the People to take Arms to defend their Rights, and to remove ſuch a man from the Government; and it is the Duty of every man, and an act of true Loyalty, to aſſiſt what he can in it.

11. From what hath been ſaid, may a ſhort, but true, plain, and full Anſwer be given to the Objectors of the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* and *Paſſive Obedience*, without

out ever queſtioning either the Truth of the Doctrine, or the Sincerity of the Aſſertors, *viz.* that it is miſapplied to the State of this Nation. For *the Supream Authority* is not in the King, nor ever was, but in the whole State, the King, the Lords, and the Commons. That which hath made it ſeem otherwiſe to ſome, is that our wiſe Anceſtors, though they thought fit to retain the greateſt *Power* in themſelves, yet thought fit alſo to give all the *Honour* they could to the King, for the Honour and Advantage of the Kingdom. And this not being well conſidered, the external appearance of Honorary matters, and of ſuch as required a ſtanding formal Authority to diſpatch, as the uſe of his Name, the Oath of Allegiance, the Conſtituting of Officers, the Summoning of Parliaments, *&c.* which the King is bound to perform according to the Laws, hath deceived them. But the truth is as I have ſaid. And in Differences among theſe, touching the Conſtitution or any thing thereof, there is no Superiour Judge but God alone, and under him each muſt Judge for himſelf, and act as he will anſwer it to that Supream Judge; not other determination but by fair Debate, or Force of Arms, which are Juſt or Unjuſt, as is the Cauſe, for which they are taken. If it be evident on which ſide the Right is, it is the Duty for every man to aſſiſt it as far as he is able; but if it be doubtful, he may ſuſpend his Action till he be ſatisfied in his Judgment.

12. What I have ſaid concerning the *Engliſh* Conſtitution is notorious, in the very Form of it, and daily Practice from all Antiquity; and ſo notorious that we may well ſpare the many particular Evidences of the truth thereof, which might be alledged. And the rather becauſe it is not only ſo notorious in our own, but in all *the Northern Governments*, among which there is a great Affinity and Agreement. And therefore they who alledge Arguments from the *Eaſtern* Governments, do it

either diſingeniouſly and fallaciouſly to impoſe upon us, or ignorantly not conſidering the Difference of the Conſtitutions. And were the Inferences which by ſome men are made from the pure and righteous Doctrine of the Scripture, according to their application received and believed, it would certainly confound moſt of the Governments in this part of the World. But Truth and Intereſt are each ſeverally ſuch powerful things, that when both do meet in the ſame cauſe, they are not likely to be eaſily overcome. And that they do, if what I have now ſaid be true, in the caſe of the People of *England*.

And now *to apply this* to the preſent caſe, it is certain and known to the World, that that unhappy Prince, the late King *James*, (whom I really pity, and would readily ſerve in any thing conſiſtent with true Loyalty to the Rights of my Country) by divers notorious Acts more particularly noted in the *Important Queſtions*, Printed with other apers, under the Title of *The true Engliſh Government*, &c. hath, to ſay nothing of private wrongs, actually invaded the Rights of the Lords and Commons, violated the Fundamental Laws of this State, and his Coronation Oath, and manifeſted a plain Deſign and Conſpiracy with notorious Traytors by the Laws, to ſubvert the true Conſtitution of this Government, and make it abſolute and arbitrary in himſelf. And that being ſo, it is very plain by what hath been ſaid, that he might have been, though he had never departed out of the Kingdom, and now is, juſtly and legally deprived of all Royal Authority within this Kingdom, and the Territories thereunto belonging; and that the ſame is juſtly transferred to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, who now hold it as King and Queen, not only *de facto*, but *de jure*, by as good Right as any of their redeceſſors ever did.

Upon full *ſatisfaction* of the truth of the ſe principles, it was

was that I first freely ingaged in the Association with the Prince; and after when they were settled in the Throne, as freely took the Oath of Allegiance to him and the Queen, and to shew my satisfaction to my Country, acted publickly under their Authority, without any private advantage to my self either received or sought for; and have endeavoured to serve the present Government with no little Expence and Loss, considering the condition of my Estate & Family. And what hath so fully satisfied me, I conceive may give the like satisfaction to others, if duly considered with like Candor and Impartiality. I confess sometimes men are not satisfied with good Reason and Evidence, and they know not why themselves; which is nothing but either want of sufficient Consideration, or the Impressions of some precedent Prejudice. But to all Honest and Conscientious Persons, if it fall short of full satisfaction, it may well serve for a fair *Admonition* to suspend both Action and Judgment to the contrary. For if this be true that I say, the Opinion of Mr. *Stafford*, and divers other well-meaning men, is injurious both to God and Man. Injurious and mischievous to their King and Country, nay, to the late King and their own Party, by animating them to a War in an ill cause, and tending to put their Country into Confusion. And no less ingrateful and derogatory to the Honour and Glory of God, who by so admirable a Work of Providence, hath so lately at once shewed both the Justice of his Judgments upon the Iniquity of King *James*; and his Mercy and Clemency towards a sinful Nation, to lead them to Repentance, who had been misled into so much Sin and Wickedness, by the evil Examples of their former Leaders. And besides this, the asserting of it, or acting upon it, must be also an opposing and resisting in fact of the course of his Providence.

And to those who are truly honest and conscientious, and well-meaning men, this Admonition may serve.

But there *are others*, and ſome of them of no mean Quality, *who need another kind of Admonition*, not of Reaſon, but of the Supream Authority, who to inſinuate themſelves into Princes Favour, not only prejudice them againſt the moſt Loyal and Honeſt part of the People under the Notion of Commonwealths men, but againſt the true Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, under the Notion of Republican Principles. Theſe are, and always have been the very peſts of the Nation, and deſerve more than a verbal Admonition. Theſe are they who always impoſed upon eaſie and indiſcreet Princes, made their Reigns uneaſie, and under pretence of Service, betrayed them into the greateſt miſchiefs. The true *Engliſh* Conſtitution is of it ſelf a brave and wiſe Conſtitution, and yet not more to be valued for that, than for its accommodation and ſuitableneſs to the temper and genius of the *Engliſh* Nation. It is compoſed of what is beſt in each of the ſimple Forms of Government; it hath the Majeſty of a Monarchy, and the Strength of a Commonwealth. And from that which is not only eſſential to it, but the Strength of it, do thoſe pernicious Sycophants raiſe their greateſt Prejudices againſt it, and the moſt loyal and faithful Aſſertors of it; but it is only, as I ſaid, with ſoft and indiſcreet Princes. For Experience doth confirm what good Contemplation might alone diſcern, that to a wiſe and generous Prince, it is a moſt eaſie, ſafe, and honourable Government, and excellently ſuited to the natural temper of the People to be governed by it. This is ſo manifeſt, that it hath often extorted plain Confeſſions thereof, from divers of our late Kings, who were ſo unhappy as either through their different temper, or through the prevalence of evil Counſellors, or by a Divine Judgment upon them, to act contrary to the convictions of their own Senſe and Reaſon. For the natural temper of the *Engliſh* is to be plain, honeſt, induſtrious and couragious: but theſe unhappy

Princes

Princes endeavouring to manage all by King-Craft, Projects, and Pædantick Policies, than which nothing can be more diſagreeable and offenſive to the nature of the *Engliſh*, made their Reigns uneaſie to themſelves as well as to the People. Whereas ſuch generous Princes as *Edw.* 3. and Queen *Eliz.* being themſelves of the right *Engliſh* temper, and ſtudying the common Good and Honour of the Nation, found the People as ſtudious of, and zealous for their Honour and Service, and enjoyed long and proſperous Reigns, notwithſtanding all the external oppoſition that was made againſt them.

And *the way for the preſent King to make himſelf honourable* to all Poſterity, *and the Nation happy* under him, is very plain and eaſie. It is but, firſt, to ſecure the Divine Favour by a generous Suppreſſion of Vice and Debauchery, and faithful attendance to the Service of his Soveraign in the Management; and then to ſecure the Hearts and Affections of the People to himſelf, by ſecuring their Rights to them, and providently and induſtriouſly promoting the Common Good and Honour of the Nation; that is, of that Community whereof he is the Head. And this he will find to be not only matter of Religion and Juſtice, but of Civil Prudence and True Wiſdom, the greateſt Wiſdom for himſelf, as well as for the People. But if he will do this, he muſt neither be afraid of a few debauch'd vicious Lords, and Gentlemen, and Souldiers; nor fond of Favourites, to the diſguſt of the People; nor favour any Faction; nor longer retain about him any of thoſe Prudential Men, whatever they may think of themſelves, or are thought to be by others, whoſe Counſels he may perceive to have been as defective in Fidelity to God and to himſelf, as in True Wiſdom, how ſpecious ſoever they might appear at firſt. No man rules ſo compleatly, ſo ſafely, ſo eaſily, and ſo honourably, as he that rules in and with the Hearts of a People.

People. And to obtain this Rule is *the great Conteſt*, not only of the Wiſeſt of Men in their Generation, but of the inviſible Powers, both Good and Evil; but carried on by very different Means, according to their different Natures: by the latter by Frauds, ſtrong Deluſions, and a bluſtering Impudence; which though they have prevailed for ſome time in the World, they cannot hold out long; and are now, very probably near their period and confuſion: but by the others, by Truth, Righteouſneſs, and a ſteddy undaunted, unmovable Courage, which will prevail at laſt to all Eternity. And he who will engage with, and under the Favour of this Party, muſt have a great care that he meddle not with the adverſe Methods, of which Worldly Wiſdom is one of the moſt plauſible and moſt deceitful. He muſt not diſhonour his General, by diſtruſt of his Power or Conduct, and baſe compliance with his Enemies. This is a great piece of Unfaithfulneſs, and will certainly prove a Snare to him whoever ſhall do it. It will forfeit his Favour who hath the Hearts of all men at his diſpoſe. And it will alienate or cool the Affections of the beſt, greateſt, and moſt conſiderable part of the People. *Vice* is the Common Enemy to all vertuous People, be they never ſo much divided in their Sentiments about other matters. But there ſeems to be a ſecret Reverence for *Vertue*, ſo deeply imprinted in the Humane Nature, that it is often ſecretly paid to the Vertue of others, by thoſe who have but little of their own. However, there ſeems to be a Natural Diſpoſition to it in the *Engliſh* Nation, and as much now as ever; and I believe will appear ſo daily more and more; eſpecially if but once put in mind of this true Principle: *That in a Church where there is no Publick Diſcipline* exerciſed, *as in this of* England, *it is the Duty of all Chriſtians to abſtain*

ſtain from all Communion, and avoidable Converſation with ſuch as profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, and yet live diſorderly. But above all things, that it ought to be obſerved in the Election of their Repreſentatives in Parliament. Perhaps it hath not been well conſidered hitherto, but upon a little notice it is like it will for the future. And the Impiety, as well as Imprudence of Voting for any ſuch perſon, may elſewhere more properly and more fully be ſet out.

Another ſort of people there are *of whom We ought to be admoniſhed*, who are of the ſame opinion with Mr. *Stafford*, but have not half his Honeſty. Of which ſort we have but too much reaſon to believe that there are ſome, who under the diſguiſe of an Oath to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, have crept not only into Offices, but into the Parliament it ſelf. There is a Noble Lord who hath abſtained from the Houſe, and a Commonor or Two, who came in, but refuſed the Oath. Theſe are Honourable in my Opinion; for they are true to their Principles, and deal fairly with us. But they who firſt oppoſed what they could, and when they could not carry it, complied for their own Advantage, took the Oath, and yet ever ſince have oppoſed the things neceſſary to our Eſtabliſhment, are at beſt no better than the *French* Deſerters, and deſerve no better at our hands, if not much worſe. For they were true either to their King, or to their Religion; though they took an indirect courſe to ſerve them. But theſe are true neither to God, nor to their Oaths, that is to their own Souls, and many of them neither to the late King nor to this; but to their own little Temporal Intereſt: and therefore would ſo temporize between both, as to keep a Reſerve for themſelves, to find Favour with either. But poſſibly they may in time find that to be true, which they will not now believe;

believe; That *he who will ſave his Life ſhall loſe it*, while *he who will loſe his life*, that is, venture it for a good cauſe, *ſhall ſave it*.

There were three *Practices* in the late Reigns, which directly tended to, and were uſed *for the Subverſion of this Government*, and to make it Arbitrary and Abſolute in the King. The firſt was to get a Corrupt Houſe of Commons, to betray, and either Complement away, or ſell the Rights of themſelves and the People. The next was to get Corrupt Judges to ſet up a pretended Power in the King, to Diſpence with Acts of Parliament. The laſt was to ſet up the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion; and to get colour for that, to queſtion an eminent Biſhop upon ſo groundleſs an occaſion, as might induce him to inſiſt upon the Juſtice of ſo clear a Cauſe, and imprudently admit that Juriſdiction. Theſe things tho not ſpecified in the Act of 25. *Edw.* 3. yet were all ſuch *Treaſons* as by that Statute are reſerved to the Cognizance of the Parliament. Nor doth there need any ſpecial Statute to enact them Treaſon: For what directly tends to, and is deſigned for the Subverſion of a Government, is ſo by the Law of Nature, and of Nations, and by our Common Law. But the Cognizance of the Fact in ſuch Caſes, our Provident Anceſtors thought fit to reſerve to the Parliament, leſt the Ordinary Judges might be too much influenced in matters of ſo high a nature by the King, either to favour Criminals, if in his favour, or to oppreſs ſuch truly Loyal Perſons, as by aſſerting the Rights of their Country might incur his diſpleaſure.

Now if there were none guilty of theſe things but King *James* and the Papiſts; none who betray'd both him and their Country by Advice, Counſel, Opinion or Action therein, neither principal nor acceſſory (in a common ſenſe) beſides; all is well, I have no more to ſay. But if there be thoſe who were notoriouſly Criminal, and are not yet call'd in queſtion for it; nay,

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nay, are notwithstanding admitted into Places and Offices of Trust, admitted to be of the Kings Council, to sit and Vote in Parliament, or to be of the Privy Council, where is the Justice, where is the Prudence of the Nation? Do we not give occasion to Mr. *Stafford*, and other very honest People, to suspect, and plainly signify to the World abroad, (being already prepared by the Book called the *Present State of England*) to believe that we our selves are not well satisfied in what we have done; but have catch'd at a little advantage against our late King, and cannot justify what we have done? I am for Mercy and Clemency as much as others: But I take Justice in many cases to be the greatest Charity in many respects. The multitude of *Offenders* is to be considered in the Execution of Justice; but yet Examples are to be made. Those who terrify'd with the Example of the chief City of the Land, agreed to surrender their Charters, may be considered; but those who did officiously surrender without consent of their fellows, are not to be excused. The Papists, and especially the Dissenters, who had been provoked by Severity of Laws, may be considered; but those of the Church of *England*, who basely betray'd their own Cause, by acting under the Dispencing Power, or in the Ecclesiastical Commission, or in packing of a Parliament, deserve not to be exempted from condign Punishment. And in *the Punishment* may some difference be made, being by Parliament. The Crime indeed is Treason, for which the Legal and Just Punishment is well known. And some examples of that ought to be made. The Penalties appointed by the Statutes against the High Commission Court, and for the Test, are not so great as that; and there is no need to trouble the Parliament in those cases, but a favour to leave such Criminals to the Ordinary Jurisdiction. Nor is it any great Severity to disable those who were guilty of such Crimes, to hold any Office of Trust, sit in Parliament, or Vote in Elections.

But to admit such to sit in Parliament, or be in any Publick Office of Trust, and not rather to impeach such as have the impudence to thrust into such Employments, deserves to be considered how it will be looked upon abroad, and by Posterity, to whom all our false steps after such a Revolution will undoubtedly be transmitted. Especially while at the same time we exclude not only from the Parliament (which might be reasonable) but from serving the Common Interest, great numbers of People, against whom we have no exception but Scruple in Conscience at some things which we require, and yet confess to be Indifferent, and what we may alter if we please.

I question not the Fidelity of the greatest part of the Parliament; but I know not what these and some other Miscarriages can be imputed to, unless it be to a False Party among them, who prevail to obstruct matters at least by Sedulity and Industry. Nor can I see any Remedy, unless by Impeaching such as are Criminal, or some Animadversion upon such as dare to oppose the Justice and better Settlement of the Nation. And till that be done, I see not how the King can with Safety leave it in so unsettled a Condition. But I must conclude all with what I have in other Papers often repeated, That unless something to purpose be speedily done for the Honour of God, and effectual Reformation of Manners, it may be doubted all our Counsels and Labours will proceed very heavily and untowardly, and all our Foreign Aids prove but such broken Reeds, as were heretofore the *Egyptians* to the *Jews*, who relyed upon them.

It is possible that this, as well as my former Paper, may displease some Gentlemen; but till we see more Zeal in them for Justice upon Criminals, and for Respect to Almighty God, it is easie to perceive what their pretended concern for Respect to the King and Honour of the present Government doth cover.

Pag. 3. line 22. for *Iniquity* r. *Inconsideration.*

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